



Department of State

TELEGRAM

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ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00

SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSC-10

PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 AID-20 EB-11 RSR-01 /123 W

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FM AMEMBASSY KABUL

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4321

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L KABUL 5397

OADR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, AF

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH PRESIDENT DAUD, JULY 22

REF: STATE 143949 (m)

1. I MET SUNDAY EVENING WITH PRESIDENT DAUD APPROXIMATELY 45 MINUTES. DUE APPARENT COMMUNICATIONS SNARL BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND KABUL, I DID NOT RECEIVE SEPTEL INSTRUCTIONS (PARA THREE REFTTEL) IN TIME TO RAISE WITH DAUD, BUT WILL RAISE SOONEST. HE GREETED ME VERY WARMLY AND REFERRED WITH PLEASURE TO OUR PREVIOUS MEETINGS. I MADE STATEMENT WISHING HIM HEALTH AND SUCCESS. I ALSO REFERRED TO OUR EARLIER DECLARATION TO THE MFA REGARDING CONTINUED USG WARM RELATIONS WITH REPUBLIC OF AFGHANISTAN. HE RECIPROCATED MY GOOD WISHES, SAID HE WAS DELIGHTED, AND THAT CONTINUATION OUR CLOSE AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS WILL BE GOOD FOR AFGHANISTAN.

2. TO MY STATEMENT THAT I DID NOT WISH TO IMPOSE UPON HIM

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AT THIS TIME AND THAT HE BUSY SEEING MANY OTHER ENVOYS, HE REPLIED THAT HE PURPOSELY POSTPONED MY APPOINTMENT TO BE THE LAST IN THE DAY SO THAT WE COULD HAVE MORE LENGTHY DISCUSSION. HE SAID HE ALWAYS APPRECIATED MY FRANKNESS, AND RECALLED GOOD RELATIONS HE HAD WITH PREVIOUS AMERICAN ENVOYS, MENTIONING ESPECIALLY AMBASSADOR (THEN DCM) ARMIN MEYER WHEN HE WAS CHARGE HERE DURING DIFFICULT PERIOD.

3. TAKING HIM AT HIS WORD, I ASKED HIM FIRST WHAT WILL BE THE BASIS FOR THE NEW GOVERNMENT; WILL THERE BE A CONSTITUTION; AND WHAT IS THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE? HE REPLIED NOT EVERYTHING COULD BE DONE IN DAY OR WEEK. EVENTUALLY CONSTITUTIONAL COMMISSION WILL BE FORMED TO DRAFT NEW CONSTITUTION BUT THIS WILL TAKE MANY MONTHS.

4. HE EXPLAINED THAT CENTRAL COMMITTEE IS NOT RPT NOT THE GOVERNMENT. HE DESCRIBED IT AS GROUP OF "FRIENDS" WHO FUNCTION AS CONTROL COMMITTEE. THE INDIVIDUALS WHO WILL TAKE CHARGE OF GOVERNMENT ARE YET TO BE NAMED. THIS PROCESS WILL TAKE TIME. HE SAID EVENTUALLY SINGLE POLITICAL PARTY WOULD BE FORMED AND THAT HE ENVISIONED LATER A PARLIAMENT PERHAPS UNDER TWO-PARTY SYSTEM WHICH HE ADDED MUST BE CONTROLLED. HE STRESSED AGAIN THAT THIS WOULD TAKE TIME AND "WE MUST AVOID MISTAKES OF PREVIOUS REGIME."

5. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION ON EXTERNAL RELATIONS, HE SAID MAIN LINES FOREIGN POLICY TO BE FOUND IN HIS ORIGINAL SPEECH (JULY 17, KABUL 5223). HE TOLD ME HE WOULD EMPHASIZE TWO POINTS: (1) FRIENDSHIP FOR ALL NATIONS AND PEOPLES AND (2) THE ABSOLUTE NEED FOR PEACE. AGAIN HE STRESSED THAT ALL PROBLEMS MUST BE SOLVED ON BASIS OF FRIENDSHIP AND THAT AFGHANISTAN NEEDS TO PROLIFERATE ITS CONTACTS SO THAT PROBLEMS COULD BE SOLVED AMICABLY.

6. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT WHILE HE HAD SINGLED OUT PASTUNISTAN AS SPECIFIC PROBLEM, HE WISHES TO EMPHASIZE THAT THIS "PROBLEM BETWEEN BROTHERS" AND NEED TO SOLVE IT IN THAT SPIRIT. HE REVIEWED HIS EFFORTS TO RESOLVE ISSUE WITH PAKISTANI LEADERS DATING BACK TO TIME IF ISKANDER MIRZA AND HIS SUCCESSORS. HE MENTIONED THAT PRESIDENT AYUB HAD INITIALLY EXHIBITED UNDERSTANDING; THEN EVERYTHING STOPPED. HE

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CONCLUDED THAT THERE MUST BE COMPROMISE; AND THAT THERE MUST BE "HONORABLE" SETTLEMENT. REFERRING TO HIS SPEECH, I ASKED IF THIS QUEST WOULD BE LIMITED TO PEACEFUL MEANS. WAVING ASIDE REFERENCE TO SPEECH, HE STATED "I GUARANTEE THAT A PEACEFUL AND HONORABLE SETTLEMENT IS WHAT WE SEEK."

7. I RAISED ECONOMIC AND DEVELOPMENT ISSUES IN GENERAL WAY, APOLOGIZING FOR BURDENING HIM WITH SUCH QUESTIONS. HE REPLIED THAT WE MUST MAKE EARLY BEGINNING TO TACKLE THESE ISSUES. HE SAID HE APPALLED BY ECONOMIC STATE OF COUNTRY, AND PARTICULARLY WITH CORRUPTION IN SOCIETY. HE SAID HE HAD READ ROBERT NATHAN'S FINAL REPORT ON AFGHAN ECONOMY AND PLANNING, AS WELL AS FRENCH-AUTHORED (LOUIS LONG) REPORT DEPLORING CONDITIONS IN COUNTRY. HE SAID HE REMEMBERED NATHAN WELL AS MAN WHO CALLED SHOTS AS HE SAW THEM. THE SITUATION IS LAMENTABLE BUT UNFORTUNATELY TRUE; IT IS EVEN WORSE THAN THESE REPORTS STATE, HE SAID. HE TOLD ME HE HOPES TO HAVE MY GOVERNMENT'S ADVICE IN WEEKS AND MONTHS TO COME. SPECIFICALLY REGARDING PLANNING FUNCTION, HE SAID IT CLEAR THAT WE MUST HAVE PLANNING PLACED UNDER THE PRIME MINISTER. HE RECALLED THAT HE HAD PREVIOUSLY HANDLED FUNCTION THAT WAY AND THOUGH HE NOT PLANNING EXPERT, HE WAS ABLE WITH HIS AUTHORITY TO KEEP PROCESS WORKING. NOW WE MUST FIND THE NECESSARY MINISTERS AND TALENT; THIS WILL NOT BE EASY BUT WE MUST BEGIN. HE AGAIN REFERRED TO CORRUPTION IN GOVERNMENT AND NEED TO ERADICATE IT.

8. HE THEN REITERATED IN MOST EMPHATIC TERMS THAT HE ALWAYS HAD WISHES TO MAINTAIN THE BEST OF RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES AND THAT IT IMPORTANT THAT THIS RELATIONSHIP BE CONTINUED. WITH REGARD TO RELATIONS WITH USSR, HE ASSERTED "WITH ALL THE AUTHORITY AT MY COMMAND? THAT "WE ARE NOT COMMUNISTS AND WE ARE NOT PRO-SOVIET. WE ARE NATIONALISTS." HE SAID AFGHANISTAN HAS GOOD RELATIONS WITH USSR AND NEEDS ITS HELP JUST AS IT NEEDS US HELP. WE ARE POOR COUNTRY, HE CONCLUDED, BUT WE ARE SLAVES OF NO COUNTRY--"TO HELP US YES; BUT NEVER TO ACCEPT DICTATION"

9. I ASKED HIM ABOUT HEALTH AND CONDITION OF ROYAL FAMILY AND MEMBERS OF PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT. HE SAID ALL MEMBERS ROYAL FAMILY IN GOOD HEALTH AND NO ONE HURT. HE TOLD ME THAT IN

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THE BRIEF FIGHTING ONLY THREE GENDARMES AND FOUR-FIVE SOLDIERS HAD BEEN KILLED. OF THE MINISTERS OF PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT HE SAID ALL BUT ONE WERE FREE. I ASKED WHETHER THIS GROUP INCLUDED PRIME MINISTER SHAFIQ TO WHICH HE REPLIED IN NEGATIVE.

10. I MENTIONED BRIEFLY PROBLEMS AT THE AIRPORT, SAYING THAT WE UNDERSTAND CERTAIN IRREGULARITIES ARE INEVITABLE DURING THIS PERIOD, BUT THAT BAD IMPRESSION IS CONVEYED WHEN CIVILIAN PASSENGERS ARE MET BY BAYONETTED TROOPS. HE AGREED THAT BAD PUBLIC RELATIONS IMAGE HAD BEEN PRESENTED, SAYING HE AWARE OF SITUATION AND THAT CORRECTIVE ACTION WOULD BE TAKEN.

11. IN CONCLUSION I TOLD HIM I DID NOT WISH TO MARCH INTO HIS OFFICE EVERY DAY BUT THAT WITHIN ONE ELSE DESIGNATED AS AUTHORITY, I MAY WISH TO CALL UPON HIM AGAIN. HE REPLIED THAT I SHOULD COME TO SEE HIM WHENEVER I WISH OR NEEDED TO DO SO. MEETING CONCLUDED IN ATMOSPHERE THAT COULD NOT HAVE BEEN MORE CORDIAL; HE ESCORTED ME TO DOOR WHEREUPON I WAS EMBRACED BY NONE OTHER THAN WAHID ABDULLAH, CLOSE ASSOCIATE OF DAUD WHO HAD JUST RETURNED FROM EMBASSY POST IN LONDON. DEPT WILL RECALL WAHID ABDULLAH HAS BEEN CLOSE TO MANY US MISSION PERSONNEL HERE OVER THE YEARS AND THAT HIS INTIMATIONS (PARTICULARLY OF YEAR AGO) THAT DAUD WOULD RETURN TO POWER HAVE PROVED CORRECT.

12. I HAD WITH ME LONG LIST OF TOPICS CONCERNING SPECIFIC USG CONCERNS RE POLICY AND PROGRAMS VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF MISSION. UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES, HOWEVER (GOVERNMENT NOT YET FORMED AND OBVIOUSLY PREOCCUPIED WITH CONSOLIDATING POWER), I DID NOT FEEL IT WISE TO PRESS HIM YET ON THESE MATTERS.
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